

619 After their wedding nights both suffered from cruel pains in the stomachs
 582 and would have died if they had not applied to Pakarati, the catechist, who
 626 saved their lives by prayer and other ritual performances. This belief is per-
 792 haps the survival of an ancient tapu against marriages between female mem-
 bers of the *ariki* group and common members of other *mata*. However, Rout-
 ledge (194, p. 246) affirms that unions between *ariki-paka* and commoners
 were possible in the old days, for the daughter of the great king Nga-ara is
 said to have married a man of the Marama tribe. It is certain that the king
 had to marry in his own tribe, though not in his own lineage! Other men of
 the Miru could marry into any descent line.

619 Certain physical peculiarities were attributed to the members of the dif-
 826 ferent tribes. Thus the Tupa-hotu were said to have tender feet which easily
 became sore in war expeditions. The Miru were bow-legged (*ngapanu*).

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES

172 Ruins of houses and ahus scattered over Easter Island correspond to the
 311 distribution of the ancient population. All villages were concentrated along
 361 the coast and the mountains and plains of the interior were sparsely inhabited.
 619 On the slope of Rano-aroi, near Vai-tea, the remains of two or three ahus
 may still be seen. Another ahu is a little north of Mount Oroï. On the west
 of the island were some villages and ahus built at the base of the slopes of
 Rano-aroi and at some distance from the coast. The settlements belonged to
 the Miru and the Hamea. Some Marama were scattered farther toward the
 interior. All the ancient settlements east of Vai-tea had been founded by
 families from groups in the east. As testified by the scarcity and the relative
 unimportance of the ruins, the groups living in the interior were isolated and
 composed of only a few members.

619 The ten *mata* or tribes were divided into two main divisions correspond-
 646 ing roughly to the western and eastern parts of the island. The western and
 northwestern tribes were called Tuu (usually spelled Ko Tuu) or *mata nui*
 (greater groups), and the eastern tribes were the people of Hotu-iti or *mata*
iti (lesser groups). The reason for this dualism is not clear. There is no
 tradition or fact suggesting that the splitting of the *mata* into two main divi-
 sions had a social function and it is probable that it was a political institu-
 tion. It was manifest mainly in a perpetual antagonism between the groups,
 the memory of which has been preserved in legends (p. 74). It is important
 to stress the fact that the tribes of the eastern division are more frequently
 mentioned under the collective name of Hotu-iti than the tribes of the west
 are under the name Tuu. Thus it may be inferred that the eastern tribes
 were more unified than the western ones. The above data implies that Hotu-
 iti was a primary tribe which divided into smaller groups. Tuu seems to be
 a simple geographic designation. Near Hanga-roa on the west coast there is

a mountain called Tuu which may have some connection with the general name of the western groups.

Dual division was correlated with certain aspects of the religious ceremonies. For instance the servants (*hopu*) who stayed on the island of Motu-nui awaiting the first eggs of the tern (*manu-tara*) were grouped according to the region from which they came (p. 335). The island Motu-nui was divided into two sections by a line passing through the center of a cave where the contestants lived and, according to Routledge (194, p. 261), "... also through another cave nearer the edge of the islet; in this latter there was at one time a statue about two feet high and known as Tita-hanga-o-te-henua, or the Boundary of the Land." The dual division of the groups was also observed at the stone village of Orongo where, to quote Routledge (194, p. 260), "... the group of houses at the end among the cave rocks was taboo during the festival, for they were inhabited by the rongo-rongo men, the western half being apportioned to the experts from Hotu-iti, the eastern to those from Ko Tuu." This dualism can be interpreted in the light of conditions prevailing on other islands. Hotu-iti and Tuu were probably two antagonistic confederations of tribes fighting for hegemony of the entire island.

The eastern headland, Poike, was not included in any district. That region is entirely barren and only three ahus were built on its edges—one at the foot of Mount Teatea, another on the eastern slope of Mount Puakatiki, and another facing the island Marotiri. The burial places were erected by Ureohei and Tupa-hotu people. The southwestern point of the island with its volcano, Rano-kao, was also outside of the districts, though some Marama, Haumoana, and Miru families lived near the present Mataveri and by the Ahu-rikiriki on the southern slope of the volcano.

The Miru were the most widely distributed of the *mata*, and families or representatives of the Miru lived in the districts of Marama and Haumoana, near the village of Hanga-roa and the bay of Hanga-piko, and on the slopes of Rano-kao near Mataveri. The Hamea and Raa groups are always mentioned together and are represented as being closely associated with the Miru in whose district they lived. They had no territory of their own. The Marama occupied a long strip of land from the west coast to the south coast. They are frequently mentioned with the names of certain important places where they were numerous. They are spoken of as the Marama of Tahai, the Marama of Vaihū, the Marama of Hanga-roa. The district given by Hotu-matua to his son Marama does not coincide exactly with the distribution of the Marama tribe. It includes the territory of the Ngaure, the Ngatimo, and a part of the Haumoana, but it does not extend to the west coast through the interior of the land. The Haumoana, like the Marama, extended from the southern coast to the western coast. Haumoana people are mentioned east of their boundary, settled in the district of the Ngatimo. The Ngatimo group was concentrated in a very short section of the south coast where fishing was unfavorable. However, Ngatimo families occupied the shore from Vinapu to Vaihū. The Ngaure were natives of Akahanga cove, but their real location overlapped their district, and some of them lived to the east of their land. The Tupa-hotu, Ureohei (Hitiuira), and Koro-

SOCIAL LIFE

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sources how great was the impression which was made by the foreigners.

Social Life.—Roggeveen's description of the people as being of all shades of colour is still accurate. They themselves are very conscious of the variations, and when we were collecting genealogies, they were quite ready to give the colour of even remote relations: "Great-aunt Susan," it would be unhesitatingly stated, was "white," and "Great-aunt Jemima black." The last real ariki, or chief, was said to be quite white. "White like me?" I innocently asked. "You!" they said, "you are red"; the colour in European cheeks, as opposed to the sallow white to which they are accustomed, is to the native our most distinguishing mark. It is obvious that we are dealing with a mixed race, but this only takes us part of the way, as the mixture may have taken place either before or after they reached the island.

They were divided into ten groups, or clans ("máta"), which were associated with different parts of the island, though the boundaries blend and overlap; members of one division settled not infrequently among those of another. Each person still knows his own clan.

In remembered times there were no group restrictions on marriage, which took place indiscriminately between members of the same or of different clans. The only prohibition had reference to consanguinity, and forbade all union nearer than the eighth degree or third cousins. These ten clans were again grouped, more especially in legend or speaking of the remote past, into two major divisions known as Kotuu (or Otuu), and Hotu Iti, which correspond roughly with the western and eastern parts of the island. These divisions were also known respectively as Mata-nui, or greater clans, and Mata-iti, or lesser clans. The lower portions of the island were the most densely populated parts, especially those on the coast, and the settlements on the higher ground appear to have been few (fig. 91).

In Kotuu, the Marama and Háumoana inhabited side by side the land running from sea to sea between the high central ground and the western volcano Rano Kao. They had a small neighbour, the Ngatimo, to the south, and jointly with the Miru spread over Rano Kao and formed settlements by the margin of the crater lake. The Miru lived on the high, narrow strip

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